Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

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SWP to File Suit Against Michigan Police-State Law

DETROIT, April 30 — Lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party this week were completing preparations for a court fight against the Trucks Act, Michigan's new police-state law. Suit will be filed by Bernard Probe, Detroit attorney, and M. J. Myer, Chicago attorney, representing Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman and Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, Howard Lerner, State Chairman, and Genora Dollinger, State Secretary and candidate for U.S. Senator.

The suit to be filed by the lawyers for the SWP will ask the court to take the following actions:

1. Issue a declaratory judgment holding the Truck Act to be unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. ("No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.")

2. Issue an injunction restraining state officials from arresting or prosecuting anyone for failure to register under the Trucks Act.

3. Order the Secretary of State to certify the Socialist Workers Party for the Michigan ballot.

FARRELL DOBBS

State officials have been temporarily restrained from taking or continuing to take any action to enforce the law since April 23, when Federal Judge Arthur Lederle enjoined them until May 20. On that date three federal judges will hear arguments by lawyers for the Communist Party seeking to have the Trucks Act declared unconstitutional.

STIFF PENALTIES

The Trucks Act, which went into effect on April 17, requires all members and sympathizers of organizations arbitrarily designated by the Attorney General as "subversive" to register with the state police and act as stool-pigeons, answering "any" questions put to them. Failure to register is a felony, punishable by up to 10 years in prison and $10,000 fine. Even stiffer penalties are provided in a section of the law that interprets "sabotage" in such a way as to make almost any striker liable to a long prison term.

The Michigan Attorney General is given the authority to decide which organizations are affected by the law. As Farrell Dobbs charged last week, the Attorney General is acting "without evidence, without a hearing, without even making specific charges."

The law also bars proscribed organizations from a place on the ballot. The SWP, which had filed the necessary valid petitions to qualify under the state election law, was the first party banned from the ballot. **Falsely accusing the SWP of seeking to alter the government by "unconstitutional means," state officials are violating the Constitution to prevent the SWP from exercising its right to seek to change the government by running candidates for office in accordance with the election laws.**

(Other articles on Pages 2 and 4.)

Angry Steel Workers Strike Against Runaround on Wages

22 Unions Join Walkout to Fight Rich Oil Barons

Close to 100,000 oil workers, members of the CIO Oil Workers International Union and of more than 20 other AFL, CIO and independent unions, struck across the nation on Wednesday morning, April 30. When the strike becomes fully effective, it will close down about half the nation's output of oil.

Oil workers are striking for a 25c. an hour general wage increase, and for increasing extra shift pay to 6c. on the afternoon shift and 12c. on the graveyard shift. They have gotten an eight month run-around on these demands, since last September when negotiations opened.

The CIO union temporarily exempted California refineries from the strike, on the ground that these refineries are producing fuel for the armed forces in Korea. However, O. A. Knight, president of the Oil Workers International said that "at a later date it may be necessary to extend the strike to California." He set no time for such an extension.

STRIKE DELAYED

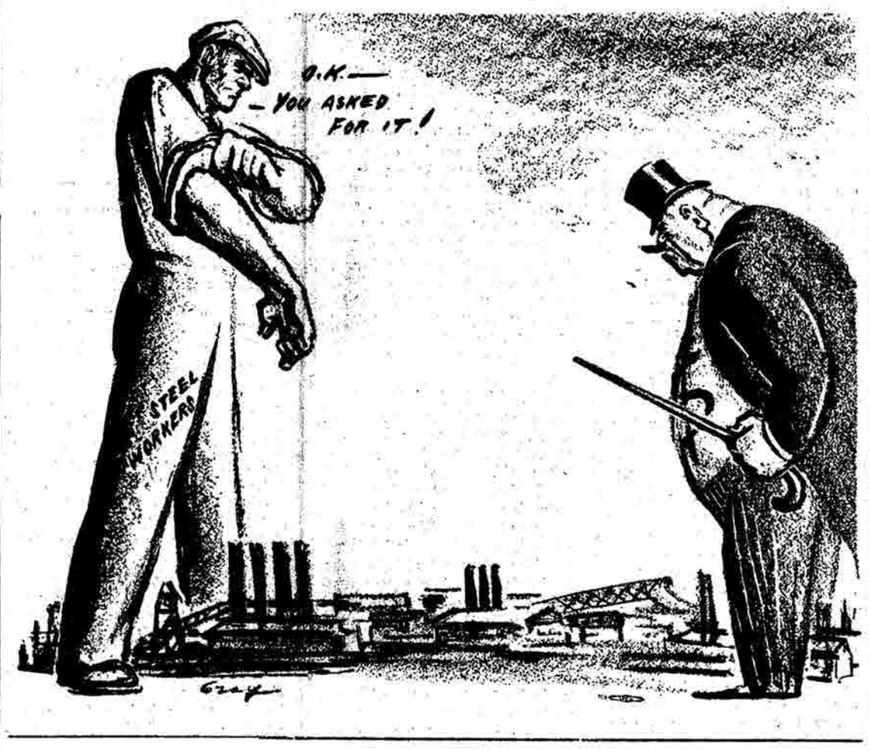
The original strike deadline set by the Oil Workers was last March 3. However, the union postponed the strike to give Federal Mediator Cyrus Ching a chance to try to effect a settlement. His inability to do this led to the certification of the issue to the Wage Stabilization Board by President Truman on March 6.

From this point on, the stalling of the Oil Workers by the companies took the form of a dispute over WSB procedure for hearing the case. The 80 companies wanted separate hearings for all the 200 bargaining units involved, and the union wanted one hearing for all. On April 4, the WSB announced a procedure that was almost a complete victory for the companies, and said it would start to hear individual cases. However, after all this stalling, the companies refused to attend the hearings. The Oil Workers continued to give the government more time, but on April 16 the WSB threw up its hands, and a new strike deadline, April 30, was set by the union.

In sum, therefore, the union has had its fight for wage improvements stalled for eight months, has set back its strike deadline two months, and in the end was forced to strike for its demands.

Typical of 1951 oil profits are Standard Oil of New Jersey's $528,461,000, largest for any company in the world.

A Test of Strength



Lightning Shutdown Ends Five-Month Company Stall; Gov't. Threatens Injunction

By Harry Frankel

The swiftest steel shutdown in U.S. history proved last week that the steel workers are serious about their fight for higher pay and have been from the very beginning of the steel dispute almost six months ago. Within minutes after a federal judge in Washington signed an order telling the steel barons: "You're the boss," the owners of the industry found themselves with cooling furnaces and without workers to "boss." Angry steelworkers across the nation had full strike machinery in motion within eight hours after receiving word from their international union headquarters that the policy of the union was to cease work in the absence of a contract.

PHILIP MURRAY

Meanwhile government officials, the federal courts, and the steel companies tangled in an ever-thickening wrangle arising out of the "seizure" of the steel mills by the Federal government and the action of the courts one day "enjoining" the government, and the next day "staying" the injunction.

Leading strategists of the capitalist class stewed over the problem of dealing with the great power of the American industrial unions to shut down basic production; a power which arises from the fact that all production depends upon the efforts of these workers, and from the further fact that these workers still retain the resolute determination to improve their condition that led them to organize into industrial unions in the Thirties.

THE SEIZURE HOAX

The Truman administration thinks it has found a formula for holding the workers back by fake government "seizures" in which nothing gets seized and nothing is changed. In the face of the collapse of this policy, government attorneys continued to argue in the courts for a permanent renewal of the seizure, saying that this is the best way to bring the workers into line.

Truman's acting Attorney-General, Philip B. Perlman, told the U.S. Court of Appeals on April 30, "We can get those men back before the furnaces get cold." His assistant, Homer C. Baldridge added "we hope, we think the union will cooperate." Baldridge went on to say, according to the May 1 N. Y. Times, "if the steel workers refused to work under seizure, the Government might seek an injunction against the union as it did against the United Mine Workers after seizure several years ago." This indicates that the Truman administration is getting ready to bare its teeth against the steel

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"LIBERAL" DEMOCRATS TOUT BANKER HARRIMAN

Democratic Party "liberals" in New York State have found "their man" for the White House. He is W. Averell Harriman, one of America's richest bankers and son of E. H. Harriman, notorious robber baron who died in 1909 leaving a $100 million fortune made out of railroad and insurance manipulations.

A meeting of Democratic county chairmen on April 18 named Harriman, former Assistant to the President and now Mutual Security Administrator, as their choice for the Democratic presidential candidate.

A PHONEY LIBERAL

Harriman is the latest pick of the "liberal" Democrats who have been having trouble finding a candidate conservative enough to satisfy the Southern "white supremacists" and Northern city bosses, but "liberal" enough for the labor leaders to use to lure the workers into support of the Democrat machine again.

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who specializes in dressing up reaction in "liberal" garb for the N. Y. Post, gives the pitch for Harriman. On April 20 he wrote that Harriman is "the one whose experience and success most qualify him for the job" of President and, especially, his "experience in foreign policy." Harriman is a chief architect of the policy of preparation for war on the Soviet Union and world conquest.

Truman, whose first choice Adlai Stevenson appears to have bowed out, promptly gave Harriman his blessings, calling him "a great liberal."

It is not unlikely that the labor leaders, who have been looking around desperately for a Democratic party candidate who can be palmed off as a "friend of labor," may wind up boosting the economic royalist Harriman.

Among Harriman's "pro-labor" qualifications are his chairmanship of the Union Pacific Railroad, which has benefited from Truman's smashing of railroad strikes, and his charmanship of Harriman Ripley & Co., one of the 17 biggest investment banks now on trial for anti-trust violations.

Hunt for Mich. Lawyer Discloses Deep Fears

By Farrell Dobbs
SWP Presidential Candidate

DETROIT, April 30 — "When I look back now it seems like a dream, a nightmare," said Howard Lerner, Michigan State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, speaking of our 10-day search for a lawyer to represent the party in its fight against the Trucks police-state law.

It was a nightmare, all right, but not a dream. It actually happened in the headquarters city of the mighty UAW-CIO.

HUNT FOR LAWYER

A few hours after Democratic Governor Williams openly joined the witch hunt by signing the Trucks law, Comrade Lerner and I started our quest for a Detroit attorney. We knew there was hysteria and fear, but we also knew that legal right was on our side.

Since 1791 it has been constitutional law in this country that "the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury . . . and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation . . . and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense."

Without evidence, without a hearing, without even making specific charges, Attorney General Millard of Michigan had labelled the SWP "subversive" under the Trucks law, and Secretary of State Alger had arbitrarily ruled the party off the ballot.

GET SAME ANSWER

Oviously our constitutional rights were grossly violated. Surely, we thought, we can soon find a lawyer who will represent us.

Day after day, at all hours, combing skyscrapers and buildings on side streets we called on lawyers. Everywhere we got the same general answer:

"You bet this is a serious matter. There is no question that important principles are involved. But a lawyer has personal problems today. He has his family and his future to think about. You certainly are entitled to legal defense, but I can't represent you."

This manifest fear of the witch hunters became even worse when, in the middle of our search, Attorney George Crockett of Detroit went to jail. He had lost his appeal to the higher courts of the contempt sentence imposed by Judge Medina in the 1949 Smith Act trial of the Stalinists.

HOW THEY SQUIRMED

Some lawyers told what they had done to defend civil rights in the past, but said they are now too old for such battles. Others said they were too young, too inexperienced for so big a task.

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Defend the Revolution In Bolivia!

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STACKED JURY PICKED IN TRIAL OF 16 CP LEADERS

By Thomas Raymond

NEW YORK — As the trial of 16 "second-string" Communist Party leaders opened here on April 24, the atmosphere of hostility and hysteria surrounding the Foley Square courtroom made a mockery of the pretense of decorum and "fairness" inside the court. Indications that multiplied during the selection of the jury and the arguments on various defense motions show that the pretense of a fair trial in the present atmosphere can be nothing but a sham. Judge Dimock, attacked in the press for being too "soft," has yielded repeatedly to the witch hunt atmosphere which the government has whipped up inside and outside the courts.

The government opened its case by calling as first witness Louis Budenz, who was the editor of the Daily Worker until 1945, when he quit the CP to flee to the Catholic Church. Budenz's credibility as a witness was vouched for by the government despite the fact that the Justice Department is investigating him for possible perjury in previous testimony. Budenz has testified under oath that John Stewart Service of the State Department, Owen Lattimore and others were "Communists" despite his own previous testimony that he had no information about these men. It was this switch of testimony that led Senator Dennis Chavez (D, N.M.) to remark: "I think everything he said is false."

Budenz, who has catapulted to national prominence and amassed a considerable sum of money plus a Fordham University professorship, since his reconversion to Catholicism in 1945, was the star government witness in the 1949 Smith Act case, when he was on the stand for 11 days.

Before the formal trial opening, weeks were consumed in a futile defense battle to get a fair and impartial jury. The defense opened the court procedure with the charge that the present jury impaneling system weights the jury selection against Negroes, Puerto Ricans, industrial workers and makes a fair trial impossible. Despite the fact that the defense was able to show that jury lists were absolutely disproportionate to the real composition of the city population, Judge Dimock ruled on April 15 that the defense had brought forward "insufficient evidence" to challenge the jury selection system.

Eight days later, Judge Dimock swore in, over defense objections, a jury that proved defense charges to the hilt. It contained not a single Negro or Puerto Rican (one Negro is listed as an alternate), nor a single industrial worker. It contained a retired banker, an engineer, a N. Y. Telephone Co. executive, a CBS radio technician, and a foreign trade consultant with the N. Y. State Department of Commerce. Six women are listed on the jury, one of whom is a former magazine editor, a second the wife of a

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Phoney Prisoner-of-War Issue Blocks Korea Truce

By Art Preis

U.S. negotiators in Korea again have resorted to the "moral issue" of "voluntary repatriation" of prisoners of war to stall a truce agreement in the war that continues to cost the American people a steady, relentless drain of several hundred casualties a week. This time the U.S. military men threw a bombshell into the negotiations by stating their refusal to repatriate, in event of an armistice agreement, more than 100,000 of the 176,000 Chinese and Koreans held in U.S. internment camps.

The U.S. spokesmen claimed they had "polled" the POWs on whether they "would forcibly oppose repatriation." Col. George W. Hickman, senior UN staff officer at the secret negotiation sessions, stated that only 70,000 had said they would not "forcibly resist repatriation."

PERTINENT QUESTIONS

All that is known about this so-called poll is what Col. Hickman told reporters. Why were there no outside witnesses to the poll? Why were reporters not asked in as observers? What guarantee is there that the whole thing isn't a fraud? If the Chinese and North Korean command said that it had polled the American POWs and found only 40% who wanted repatriation to the U.S., would the U.S. representatives accept such a claim?

It is sufficient to ask these questions to indicate how suspect the claim about the poll is. But before investigating this particular claim more closely, let us examine the whole question of "voluntary repatriation" as used by Washington and the Pentagon as a "moral" pretext for continuing the war.

I. F. Stone, the noted liberal columnist of the N. Y. Daily Compass and author of the revealing book, "The Hidden History of the Korean War," which is published this week, makes some cogent points on the POWs question in the April 21, 22 and 23 Compass.

Suppose, he says, that Radio Peking had announce the conversion of thousands of American POWs to communism and the Chinese and North Koreans then claimed it was their "right" and "duty" to hold back these prisoners in any exchange in order to protect them from punishment at U.S. government or South Korean hands. "What would be the reaction of the American press? Would it not justifiably protest?

"Would it not make the point that there was no way of being sure that such 'converts' were not the result of pressure brought to bear on prisoners in the camps? Would not the . . . press argue that to withhold prisoners of war on an ideological basis was a violation of the Geneva convention on the treatment of prisoners of war? Would it not be argued that the convention was framed to avoid abuse of prisoners' rights under cover of just such formulas as 'voluntary' relinquishment of the right to repatriation?"

GENEVA CONVENTION

Stone cites the Geneva convention, which says: "Prisoners of war may in no circumstances renounce in part or in entirety the rights secured to them by the present convention" and that "Prisoners of war shall be relased and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities."

The possibility of coercing helpless prisoners to renounce repatriation is not something Stone alone has charged. Those most insistent that "no honorable compromise on this issue (voluntary repatriation) is possible" and that "any retreat . . . would be morally and politically disastrous" are the ones who first raised the charge.

WAR MONGERS

The authors of the above statements about "no honorable compromise" are the signatories of a letter in the April 19 N. Y. Herald Tribune. They are rabid warmongers, including Norman Thomas, James Burnham, William Buckley Jr., Senator Paul H. Douglas, Walter J. Judd and Marx Lewis.

So fearful are they that a truce will be reached in Korea on the basis of some POW compromise, that they charged that "there is every possibility that pressure may be brought to bear on prisoners of war to agree to return to their former homelands in order to facilitate a cease-fire." They warn that "there is more than one way of pressuring the prisoners of war to return against their will. . . This is not a groundless fear. . ."

We take their word for it that "there is every possibility that pressure" was brought to bear on the POWs in the U.S. prison camps on Koje — but not to get them to agree to repatriation. It was to get them to state (presuming there even was a poll) that they didn't want repatriation.

The wonder is (always presuming that the prisoners were asked) that so many as 70,000 said they wanted to be returned. For they had been given ample warning of the fate they might meet if they didn't agree to any proposition their captors put in their mouths. They had had the recent experience of at least two massacres of prisoners on Koje.

On Feb. 22, U.S. army officials announced that a "riot" had occurred in one of the prison compounds at Koje and that 1,500 civilian internees — South Koreans — had "attacked" some 750 fully-armed veteran troops of the U.S. Twenty-seventh Wolfhound Regiment. When the "attack" was over 69 prisoners were dead, 142 seriously wounded. Only one soldier died. The 750 soldiers, we learn in a Tokyo dispatch to the Feb. 23 Christian Science Monitor, "were attempting to interview civilian internees" to find out "who did not want to return to Communist territory."

Then on March 15, the U.S. command disclosed that two days previously 12 prisoners were killed and 26 wounded in another "outbreak" by "unruly Communists." But here the pattern of a cold-blooded massacre could not be covered up. Murray Schumach, N. Y. Times correspondent who went to Koje Island, revealed that the North Korean prisoners were victims of deliberate provocation and murder.

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A Tribute to Eloise Booth

By C. Thomas

(An Eloise Booth Memorial Meeting was held by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party on Saturday, April 26. Comrade Booth died suddenly after a heart attack on Monday April 21. She was born March 27, 1912 and was 40 years of age when she died. We publish below excerpts from the Memorial Address given by comrade C. Thomas.)

ELOISE BOOTH

When I first met Eloise Booth, in San Francisco 18 years ago, she was already a veteran of the class struggle. It was in 1934, the year of the great Pacific Coast waterfront strikes which culminated in the San Francisco general strike and El had been arrested and jailed several times for her activity in support of the striking maritime workers.

While still a young girl in her teens, Eloise Booth was widely known in the San Francisco labor movement as a courageous working class fighter. She had been active for a number of years in the Young Communist League from which she was expelled for her opposition to the stifling Stalinist bureaucracy which revolted her proletarian instincts. She joined our Party in 1934.

TURNING POINT

The year 1934 was a great turning point in her life as it was in the lives of many of our comrades. It was the year of the great upsurge of the American labor movement, highlighted by tremendous class battles which have become part of the history and tradition of our movement: the Pacific Coast maritime struggle, the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the historic strikes of the Minneapolis Teamsters.

Comrade Booth was molded and tempered in the fires of the class struggle. As a very young girl she was a migratory agricultural worker who, together with her father, mother and sister, followed the crop from Washington to California. It was a hard school. Through her father who was a Marxist student she was able to generalize her experience and came to loathe, with a deep and abiding hatred, the rotten social system which was the cause of so much misery and pain.

Eloise was a tireless agitator, an indefatigable party worker, completely devoted to the workers cause. She was so attuned to the mood of the workers that she responded, like a sensitive instrument, to the ebb and flow of the labor movement. When the workers were on the march El was in her glory. When the movement was in its ebb she would, somehow, feel personally responsible. "If only we worked harder and did more, the tide would change."

In the 30s she was an active participant of the strike struggles of that day, a trade union organizer in the cannery field, a prominent member of the waitress' union and always a party activist. In the difficult period of the Hitler-Stalin pact she repeatedly faced hostile audiences as a street corner speaker and through sheer personal will compelled them to listen and won the sympathy of many who came to jeer.

When the petty bourgeois opposition split from the Party in 1940 and the convention decided to transform the composition and leadership of the organization, comrade Booth was elected an alternate member of the National Committee as a representative of the type of worker-leader that best exemplified the new character the organization was to assume.

Eloise came to New York during the war. It was a critical period for our Party. The Smith Act conviction of our Party leadership in the Minneapolis trial was intended to behead the organization. The draft was taking many of our leading people. El became the organizer of Branch Central, the largest branch in the country, and played a leading role throughout this difficult period.

DECISION TO EXPAND

With the end of the war in Europe, there came a renewed interest in radical ideas. The Party convention of 1945 took note of the turn in the objective situation. We were receiving letters from workers in areas where no party branch existed expressing interest and asking for information. From a number of such areas workers were sending subscriptions to the **Militant** which they had solicited on their own initiative. The convention decided to intensify our activities, to expand into new areas, to increase our organizing staff and to launch the first of our big **Militant** subscription campaigns.

Eloise was the first to volunteer her services in the campaign. Together with comrade Rudy Rhodes she began a tour of New York and Pennsylvania. This was the origin of the famous "Trailblazers" whose achievements were recorded weekly in the **Militant** of the spring of 1945. From the Allentown-Bethlehem area the Trailblazers reported 108 new subscriptions to the **Militant** in the first week! Two weeks later, the total for the area had reached 317 subs. To this very day, workers in the Allentown-Bethlehem area remember Eloise Booth and **The Militant.**

From Allentown-Bethlehem to Rochester and Buffalo and then to Pittsburgh. The final report in the May 26 **Militant** recorded a total of 839 subscriptions sold by the Trailblazers to new readers in areas hardly before touched by our Party. Upon the conclusion of the tour Eloise volunteered for her toughest assignment — the job of party organizer in Pittsburgh.

It was not long before she was immersed in the struggles of the workers in the Pittsburgh area. As a reporter for **The Militant** she recorded the many labor battles of '45 and '46 and participated actively in the fight. When William Patterson, a coal miner of Daisytown Pa., was jailed under the strikebreaking Smith-Connally Act, El initiated and directed the work of the Patterson Defense Committee.

In the **Militant** of August 18, 1945, there appeared a copy of a letter sent to comrade Booth by Mrs. William Patterson:

"In this mornings mail I received your camel cigarettes. I thank you very kindly and I am sure Willie will enjoy them. Sometime next week his case will be reopened by his lawyer. I thank you for every consideration you have given him and any further help from you will be highly appreciated." The letter was forwarded to The Militant with a comment typical of Eloise: "I wish we could do more."

After years of intense activity comrade Booth was taken ill several years ago and asked for a leave of absence. She maintained contact with the Party, and made regular contributions. Some months ago I heard that Eloise was thinking of coming back into party activity — and that was such good news! Instead, suddenly, unexpectedly, without warning, five words on a Western Union telegraph blank: Eloise died Monday in Pittsburgh. And so we meet here today to say farewell to our dear and beloved Eloise. She was the best — the very best!

Comrade Booth's Service to Labor Won Respect of Pittsburgh Unionists

PITTSBURGH, April 22 — Eloise Booth, SWP organizer here, died suddenly yesterday of a heart attack at the age of 37. She had been ailing for two years and under a doctor's care.

She came to Pittsburgh in the early forties when the steel workers were drawing their first breath as established union men. By her tireless zeal for the cause of labor's emancipation she won great respect for the integrity of the ideas of Trotskyism among the workers here. She was especially highly regarded among the workers at the huge Westinghouse Electric plant in East Pittsburgh. Some of them, under Stalinist influence, who were first hostile to her, came in time to trust her and turned to her for advice and guidance after they had become victims of Stalinist betrayal.

During the wartime coal strike she distributed the Militant far and wide among the miners, bringing them an inspiring message of solidarity. She was the leading figure of the committee to aid William Patterson, the coal miner who was the first victim jailed under the Smith-Connally anti-strike act.

Groups of rank and file utility workers, who were then victims of a company union, sought her out as the SWP organizer. She advised, encouraged and aided their fight for an independent union. She played a major role in helping the workers to rally their forces for a showdown struggle, which led to the first victorious public utility strike in Pittsburgh, in defiance of an injunction.

The power company tried to smear the successful strike and persecute Eloise with a red scare. She was subpoenaed before the House Un-American witch-hunt committee. She boldly defended the strike of the power workers as the result of the greed for super-profits of the company which tried to keep the workers' wages down.

As the attacks on civil rights intensified, she urged the workers to hold their ranks together. The revolutionary workers, she recalled, had struggled through such periods in the past and this was the time that Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, had described:

"Thus Freedom now so seldom wakes,
The only throb she gives;
Is when some heart indignant breaks
To prove that still she lives."

Face Death

William Pomeroy, former U.S. Air Force enlisted man who fought for Philippine independence with the Hukbalahap movement, embraces wife Celia Mariano at Camp Murphy in Northern Luzon. Pomeroy, originally from Waterloo, N. Y., stayed in Philippines after the war and fought against U. S.-dominated regime until recent capture. Both he and his wife face charges punishable by death.

Hunt for Lawyer Shows Spread of Fear in Michigan

(Continued from page 1)

One alibied that the SWP is "too small to be important." Another decided to get rid of us by demanding a $25,000 fee. When we asked if he would definitely take the case if the money could be raised, he said, "I'll have to think about that."

In one instance we were told, "I don't want anything to do with anybody called subversive."

Another said, "I can't say no, but I can't say yes either, and I'm not proud of what I'm saying to you."

Still another expressed the fear that "If I represent you it will be five years before I can win another case before the prejudiced courts."

THREE MAIN FEARS

We found three main fears preventing the lawyers of Detroit from stepping forward to defend victims of the witch hunt:

Fear that they would lose clients, whether they represent bankers, business men or union officials in their regular work.

Fear of being jailed for contempt by judges hostile to the defendants.

And fear of being disbarred from the legal profession.

Because of these fears we got only sympathy from each lawyer we called on, and — the names of other lawyers to see.

Finally, on the tenth day of our search we found a fighter, Attorney Ben Probe, who said, "Mighty important principles are involved in this violation of your constitutional rights, and I will represent you."

Stacked Jury Picked as CP Trial Starts

(Continued from page 1)

post office employee, and a third the wife of a railroad company official. A "housewife" and a "concert pianist" are listed, both giving addresses just off Fifth Avenue in high rent districts.

The social composition of the jury is not all that shows that this is a jury prejudiced in advance against the defendants. Additional proof is found in the fact that, when the judge put the central question of the case to prospective jurors, almost every single one indicated that his mind was already made up, in advance of the trial, against the defendants. Dimock asked the jurors whether they believed that the Communist Party advocates overthrow of the government, and when they answered yes, he questioned them further as to whether, despite this belief, they could give the defendants a fair trial. However, since this is the central issue to be decided by the trial it is like asking jurors at a murder trial if they think the defendant is guilty, and then keeping them on the jury even though they say yes.

For example, a grocer was brought before the court on April 18, and according to the **New York Times** stated he believed the following: that "the Communist party advocated forcible overthrow of the Government, that . . . the Communist party violated the Smith Act, the law under which the indictment was drawn; that . . . any member of the Communist party violated the Smith Act simply by his membership; and that he believed that Communists advocated the forcible overthrow of the Government because of their membership in the party."

Confronted with this man who had the defendants convicted and sentenced in his own mind and admitted it freely, Judge Dimock, instead of throwing him off the jury at once, proceeded to further questions as to whether the juror could put aside these opinions. The grocer replied: "I an confident that I can bring an unbiased mind to the whole situation." However, in this instance it was disclosed that the grocer had served coffee to the **Daily Worker** staff in the past, and so both sides were able to agree on his dismissal. Other jurors who confessed that they had decided these basic issues in their mind were permitted to stay, and are on the final sworn jury.

In his questioning of prospective jurors, Dimock asked if they belong to a series of organizations which he listed. Most of these organizations were either Stalinist dominated, or were extreme right wing outfits like the Christian Front. However, Judge Dimock surprisingly included two liberal organizations, the Americans for Democratic Action, which is strongly anti-communist, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Dimock even went further, and asked the prospective jurors whether any of them were or had been members of unions which had not filed non-Communist affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Act. This may have been ignorance on Dimock's part. He probably did not know that the only unions which have not signed these affidavits are the politically conservative miners and typographical unions. Still, what possible basis does Dimock have for refusing a seat on the jury to members of any union, whether it uses the services of the National Labor Relations Board or not? (Under the Taft-Hartley Law, unions that do not file non-communist oaths lose access to the NLRB.)

The total behavior of this judge who seems to think he is being very fair, shows how warped the government concept of fairness has become, and how impossible a really fair trial is. On one side, he lets people stay on the jury even if they admit that they have made up their minds against the defendants, so long as they "promise" to try to sweep their minds clean. And on the other hand, he quizzes prospective jurors as to whether they have ever belonged to liberal organizations, or to conservative unions that refuse to sign Taft-Hartley affidavits.

Income Facts in 4th Internat'l

The latest issue of Fourth International, bi-monthly Marxist magazine now off the press, features an article on the trends in income distribution in the United States. Titled "Does America Disprove Marx? — Income Trends: Fact and Fiction," the article, written by Harry Frankel, replies to the claims that the distribution of income in the U.S. over the past 40 years proves that Marx was wrong when he predicted that capitalism polarizes wealth on one side and poverty on the other. An article which draws the balance sheet of four years of the Marshall Plan by Michel Pablo, editorial comment on the Presidential election campaign, an article on Egypt in revolt, and other Marxist analytical articles are contained in this issue.

The American Way of Life

A Few Well Chosen Words

Look into the Congressional Record for February 25 and you will find the American way of life defined with a precision and acumen that leaves nothing to be desired. The Hon. George A. Dondero, who hails from Royal Oak, Michigan, has provided this service, for which we should all be grateful.

Mr. Dondero, having been a mayor of Royal Oak as assistant prosecuting attorney, member of the Board of Education, member of Congress for many years, a lawyer since 1910, a Methodist, Mason (Shriner) and a Kiwanis is well equipped to chose our reading for us, and he recommends an editorial from his home town paper, the **Daily Tribune.**

CLARITY FOR EVERYONE

"In a few well chosen words," he says, "and with clarity that everyone can understand, is a statement of what is meant by the system under which we Americans live." This serves to introduce us to the editorial, which is called "Definition of the American Way."

"We talk about the American way of life," the editorial opens. "But what do we really mean by it? What's a simple definition for the American system of free enterprise? Here is one that seems good to us.

"The American system of free enterprise says that you are:

"1. Free to quit your present job.

"2. Free to get another job."

A SIMPLY DITTY

We'll stop right here. This statement, while so clear simple and rhythmic that it could be set to music and would make a nice ditty, strikes us as an understatement. Under the American Way, not only are you

Free to quit your present job
Free to get another job

but you are often encouraged to do so. Sometimes as many as fifteen or twenty million men are taking advantage of this freedom at the same time, a sight never seen in any other nation that is or ever was on this planet. Other countries have tried, but never has this freedom been more broadly practised than here. Now let's go on.

"3. Free to become a businessman if you want to.

"4. Free to become a capitalist.

"5. Free to start whatever enterprise you want to."

Here we have freedom's highest pinnacles. I will confess that, when I first read this, I felt that there was something missing, but, reading on, I soon found all angles covered:

"All you need to do this is to:

"1. Have an idea.

"2. Have courage to strike out for yourself.

"3. Have capital or be able to arrange it."

NEED MONEY BADLY?

There are some who get despondent, or even cynical, at this point. For example, I saw a cartoon in a paper the other day that showed a man applying for a bank loan, and the vice-president of the bank is leaning across a desk and telling this man very harshly: "Mister, we couldn't possibly lend money to a man who needs it as badly as you do."

I saw this cartoon in the **Wall Street Journal**, but then, we all realize that businessmen are often the worst cynics when it comes to discussing the American Way, and besides, a lot of them feel they have a monopoly of a good thing and they want to discourage others from trying to get up where they are.

The editorial continues: In this country, "no one asks: who was your father and what did he do? They ask: who are you and what are you doing?"

This is the only part that bothers me. I have often considered opening a bank, but if a cop should come along and asks me: "Who are you and what are you doing?" what do I tell him? If you help me out on that, Mr. Dondero, I'll be all squared away to get into the swing of the American Way of life.

Harry Frankel

THE MILITANT ARMY

Los Angeles Literature Agent **Jeanne Morgan** reports that the West Coast branches have launched a **Militant** subscription campaign with inter-branch competition among Seattle, Oakland, San Francisco, and the Eastside, Westside, Southside, and San Pedro branches in Los Angeles. There will also be competition among individuals for the prize to the top subgetter of one week's vacation at Mountain Spring Camp. Scores will be counted on the basis of 52 points for a one year subscription, 26 points for a six months subscription, six points for a 25c. home delivery sub, and one point for each single copy sold.

The first reports on results obtained in the West Coast campaign, although not complete enough to indicate the leading branch or individual so far, do indicate a lively enthusiasm which promises some good results in the weeks to come. **Myra** writes to increase **Los Angeles' Militant** bundle and to report a total of 408 points gained by all four branches in their first sale of the campaign. Literature Agent **Jane Sebastian** sends in 11 new six months subs for **San Francisco.** In spite of the fact that that the bundle of Militants which they ordered to start the campaign got lost in the mail, San Francisco got off to a good start with 292 points. It looks as if this puts them in first place so far. **Seattle** is not too far behind though, with a total of 197 points gained in the first day of the campaign. **Dan** reports that **Militant** salesmen also sold 10 Harry T. Moore pamphlets the first day. Leading Seattle subgetters are **Tom**, with 52 points; **Melba**, with 33; **Dan**, 31; **Clara**, 29; and **Arthur**, 26.

Literature Agent **Ethel Swanson** reports that **New York's** local subscription campaign is humming along. A long list of over 100 home delivery subs are now being delivered in person each week by **Militant** subgetters. Top scorers are **Calcin**, 162 points; **Joyce**, 161; **Walter**, 133; **Milton**, 121; and **Louise**, 119.

Local campaigns for **Militant** subscriptions are proceeding vigorously in a number of other Socialist Workers Party branches. Eight renewals sent in by Literature Agent **Fred Perry** indicate that **Flint's** campaign is well under way. Literature Agent **Bea Allen** reports that **Detroit** also plans a sub campaign. A meeting will be held to work out the details. **Max** writes that **Philadelphia** is planning a local campaign for the month of May which will "clean up on renewals and bring in new subs." **Charles** sends in two subscriptions for one year, and five six months subs for **Buffalo.** "This constitutes our first effort toward what we expect to be a very successful campaign," he writes. **Lou** sends in subs obtained by him, **Kay**, and **Sal** on Sunday, and promises to "double the amount of **Akron** subscribers in the next three months."

The **Twin Cities** report an encouraging response to the new Harry T. Moore pamphlet. **Minneapolis** writes, "So far we have sold 85 of the Moore pamphlets. It is one of the fastest selling pamphlets that have been put out. Please send us 50 more." **Winifred** writes from **St. Paul,** "Send us more copies of the H. T. Moore pamphlet. We are completely out of our original order. Sunday five of us went out and sold 35 in not more than 15 or 20 minutes. The response is wonderful!"

Letters from Readers

'Compass' Prints Stalinist Distortion

Editor: Among the more crudely constructed myths the Communist Party leaders have circulated about the non-Stalinist left and especially the Socialist Workers Party is the one which maintains that these groups are in the employ of the ruling class and their only purpose in political life is to divert radical-moving workers from joining their brothers in the "revolutionary" Communist Party.

The liberal New York newspaper, the **Daily Compass,** adds weight to this argument in the course of reporting the effects of the Michigan "subversive registration" law (Trucks Act) upon the radical movement.

In the article is a sloppy, out-of-context quote from a statement by Howard Lerner, Michigan SWP chairman, giving his reaction to the new law. Following is a section of the **Compass** dispatch printed on April 23: !

"In Detroit, Socialist Workers Party chairman Howard Lerner said that if a party which fights 'Stalin communism' as his does cannot do so by democratic political means, then 'a police state is beginning to replace the democratic process.'"

The Communist Party thesis stated in the opening line is clearly evident here. A dutiful Stalinist could not possibly understand why, in the first paragraph of this dispatch, the same ruling class which reputedly nurtures the Trotskyist influence in the workers' movement found it important to the health and safety of their class interests to bar this Socialist Workers Party from a place on the ballot.

I would appreciate it if you would comment more fully on this. Also helpful would be the complete context of Howard Lerner's statement.

A. R.
New York, N. Y.

Comment by Editorial Staff

A. R. is correct when he terms the so-called quotation "out of context" but not when he says it is "sloppy." The distortion of the anonymous Compass correspondent is not sloppy but completely deliberate.

Howard Lerner's statement — the only one he issued to the press — was reported in almost all the Detroit papers on April 18, the day after the law was signed and the Secretary of State banned the SWP from the ballot. We printed it in full last week and reprint it now:

"Under the new law, if it is upheld by the courts, any minority group can be banned from the ballot merely by a ruling from the Attorney General holding that the group is subversive.

"It looks like a form of police state is beginning to replace democratic processes."

The Compass correspondent must have read this statement in the press and knew that it did not even contain a reference to "Stalin communism" (a term never used by the SWP, which holds Stalinism to be a perverter and destroyer of genuine communism). His distortion was not "sloppy" but maliciously deliberate and politically motivated.

Two days before Lerner's statement was printed, the **Detroit News** reported the following event from Lansing: Lerner had asked Edward W. Frey, state elections director, why the SWP had not been certified for the ballot after submitting more than 12,000 legally valid petitions several weeks before. Frey answered that certification was being held up because of the newly passed but not yet signed Trucks Act.

In reply, Lerner stated that the new law refers only to the "communist party" and "communist front organizations" and therefore does not apply to the SWP, which is a political opponent of the Communist Party. The News article did not quote Lerner's statement, but Frey's version of it, which was that "Lerner said . . . his group is fighting the Communist Party . . . He contended his party is directly in opposition to the Communist Party."

COMPASS AMALGAM

What the Compass correspondent apparently did was to take Frey's version of what Lerner said (printed on April 16) alter it somewhat, and join it to a statement actually made by Lerner (printed on April 18). The result, naturally, was altogether different from what Lerner said on both occasions.

Such falsifications go on in the Stalinist **Daily Worker** all the time, and are designed to bolster the lie that A. R. refers to. (The **Worker** still has not even mentioned that the SWP was the first victim of the Trucks Act, and naturally will not let its readers know of the statement by Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate and national chairman, promising to defend CP victims of the Trucks Act, "despite our irreconcilable political hostility toward the Stalinist movement.")

But such falsifications occur often enough in the **Compass** to call into question the accuracy of some of its articles and the honesty of some of its writers when they are dealing with questions that are "touchy" for the Stalinists. — Ed.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M Social last Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MAdison 3960.

CHICAGO—734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 PM. Phone HArrison 7-0403.

CLEVELAND — 10609 Superior Ave.

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FLINT—SWP, 1307 Oak Street. Phone 22496.

LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANgelus 9-4953.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7781.

NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.

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OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information write P.O. Box 1953.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

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SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington, Rm 201. Open Mon through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 9278.

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The Bedrock Issue

Whatever the outcome of the immediate steel wage struggle, it is very likely that the Wage Stabilization Board and its procedures, as now constituted, are going to be heaved out of the window. To this end Congress has tossed into the legislative hopper a flock of new bills to ensure that henceforth the wage board will be unable to yield even the smallest concession to labor.

Similarly, Congress began to move last week on the matter of government seizures of plants and industries. All political wings of Congress rushed to propose new measures to restrict the powers of the President to seize industries. None would prohibit seizures in "national emergencies." But they would permit seizures only to break strikes, while forbidding the government to put wage increases or improved labor conditions into effect.

These developments in the legislative field point up the basic and more permanent issues that flow from the steel struggle. These issues are, above all, political. They are being decided in Washington, D.C., in the halls of Congress. There, laws are now in process of enactment which are designed to forge heavier and stronger chains for labor.

In reality, this but continues the process that has been under way particularly since the end of World War II. The great irresistible strike wave of 1945-46 demonstrated that the giant corporations, powerful as they are, are no match for organized labor in direct frontal combat. The bosses had to seek more and more the intervention of their government. That was the purpose for the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Taft-Hartley Act has been able to impede, hamper and harass labor, but not to render it helpless. The labor movement has proved too powerful; it has broken through the Taft-Hartley restraints or circumvented them. Hence, the determination of the Congressional agents of Big Business, impelled by the steel struggle, to tighten the anti-labor laws, to make them "fool-proof."

What answer do the union leaders have on this bedrock issue — the political issue of the Congress which is a mere pawn of the corporations and bankers and which has but one slogan: "Cripple, smash, destroy labor!"?

On the one hand, we have the view, as expressed by Emil Rieve, CIO Textile Workers Union president, that there is no chance that a Congress friendly to labor would be elected this year and, presumably, that labor must be prepared to bow before new blows. On the other hand, we have the note of phoney optimism in remedies already proved worthless and dangerous as sounded by the AFL leaders in the April 23 AFL News-Reporter editorial, "1952 Can Be Another 1948."

The editorial deplores the "pessimists" who "look at the doleful picture" of the situation in Congress and the political prospects for labor. They would have us remember the "victory" that labor won in 1948 "when the ballots were counted" and "12 new friends of labor were elected to the Senate, every old friend was re-elected and 17 enemies were defeated."

"Remember 1948?" they ask. How can the workers forget it. That was the year Truman promised, if elected, to secure repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and passage of civil rights legislatiton. Now, at end of Truman's term, the workers look backward on war, inflation, wage-freezing, witch-hunts, and government-strikebreaking, and forward to worse anti-labor laws and attacks on civil rights under Truman's successor of whatever major party. Go back to the "victory" of 1948? That's what put labor in its present impasse, that's what brought us to this Congress which is running like a maddened herd of cattle in a stampede to crush labor.

There is a way of escape, however. It is through the formation of labor's own political party which can rally the workers, the Negro people, the poor farmers and lower middle class to put labor's own candidates in Congress and wipe out political control by the agents of the plutocracy. That would be a first big step toward solution of the crucial basic issues made sharper and more acute by the steel crisis.

U.S. RAISES POW ISSUE TO BLOCK KOREA TRUCE

(Continued from page 1)

A small group of "anti-Communists," waving South Korean flags and singing South Korean songs, were marched provocatively past wire-enclosed compounds containing loyal Communists. "They slowed down deliberately as the Communist North Koreans pressed against the barbed wire to denounce them." Some rocks were thrown. "Less than a minute later, gunfire poured into the compound, not only from the carbines of the guards with the North Korean work detail, but also from the guns of a South Korean detachment marching back to barracks along a road that skirted another side of the Communist compound."

It would not be surprising, with this type of "persuasion," that a lot more Chinese and North Korean prisoners would not agree to "forcibly resist" repatriation.

WHAT'S BEHING IT

Before the U.S. negotiators came up with their claim about only 40 per cent of 170,000 prisoners wanting repatriation, it was stated by Col. Hickman and Adm. Ruthven E. Libby that the "great majority" of the prisoners would want to return to the Communist side. The April 21 **Newsweek** had reported: "A thorough canvass of U.N. POW camps shows that the number of Red prisoners refusing repatriation is considerably smaller than first expected." What was expected, according to **N. Y. Times** correspondent Lindesay Parrott on April 17, was not 100,000 refusals of repatriation, but "an estimated total of 12,000 anti-Communist captives."

It was only after the Chinese and North Koreans had agreed to accept the first revised list of prisoners totalling 132,000, then the second revised list of 116,000, that the U.S. command came up with its story about the "poll" and only 70,000 wanting to return.

Col. Hickman said a mouthful when he averred: "We came up with a figure so low that they could not accept it." They came up, in fact, with a figure designed expressly to wreck a truce and prolong the war.

Defend the Bolivian Revolution!

By George Breitman

Enemies of a revolution try to smash it forcibly through military action or to strangle it to death by economic pressure. When that is not immediately possible, they seek to prepare the ground for counter-revolution by lying about the revolution — hoping to isolate it and to confuse those who should be supporting it. That is what is happening in the U.S. today in connection with the recent revolution in Bolivia.

It is impossible to present and answer all the lies (many contradicting each other) which have appeared since April 9, when the Bolivian revolution began. We will confine ourselves here to the **N. Y. Times**, one of the chief spokesmen for U.S. imperialism, and the **New Leader**, the chief spokesman for the Social Democratic lackeys of imperialism.

After waiting almost two weeks, the editors of the Times on April 22 expressed their "anxiety" over the success of the revolution headed by the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR) which it called a "fascistic, extremely nationalistic party." It concluded: "We are seeing the triumph of nationalism, of demagogy and probably of fascism in Bolivia and it is a disturbing sight."

For the **New Leader** (April 28), it was a "fascist coup in Bolivia." Victor Alba, its correspondent in Mexico City, denounces Victor Paz Estenssoro and the other MNR leaders as fascist and adds: "It is not surprising, then, that the Communists are allied with Paz. He may be a Fascist, but, in his desire to injure the United States, he plays the Soviet game. The most astonishing thing about the current Bolivian array of forces, however, is the part played by the Trotskyites. This splinter group, which possesses a certain amount of influence, also supports the MNR, arguing that the latter, as the party of the middle class, is destined to carry out the democratic revolution (and, presumably, thereby prepare the way for the ultimate 'socialist' revolution). This schematic Marxian interpretation has, for example, led the Trotskyite deputy (Guillermo) Lora to become the secretary of the Fascist trade union leader, Lechin." Alba concludes: "The triumph of the MNR means another victory for General Peron."

And now let us examine the causes of the Bolivian revolt:

The Economic Causes

The **Times** says "Bolivia is a country where force and violence are the traditional methods of politics. Struggles for power are fierce and sanguinary, and there is an emotionalism about politics completely lacking in temperate climes and normal altitudes. (La Paz, the capital, is 12,000 feet above sea level.)"

This interpretation of history neglects factors that are somewhat more relevant and direct. Bolivia (population 3,500,000) is one of the poorest countries in the Western Hemisphere, although its mineral resources make it potentially one of the richest. "The Bolivian miner never gets enough to eat from infancy to death." (Wall Street Journal, June 11, 1951) And the miners are the best-paid workers in the country. Over half of them have tuberculosis, and their life expectancy is 35 years. Their "emotionalism" obviously has other than climatic causes.

Tin is the chief product, normally accounting for 70% of the country's exports, and provides the exchange which Bolivia needs to buy food from abroad. But the bulk of the industry is owned by foreign capital. The "Big Three" are the Patino corporation (producing 43% of the national tin total) which is U.S. dominated; the Hochschild interests, controlled by Chileans; and the Aramayo mines, a Swiss company with large British holdings. The Patino rate of profit in 1950 was 43%. This imperialist superexploitation in the midst of grinding poverty is the source of Bolivian "nationalism."

In December 1943 the three-year old MNR came to power, ousting a legally-elected president and replacing him with Col. Villarroel. Then as now, the MNR was a middle class party — pro-capitalist but dissatisfied with the draining off of the nation's wealth by the imperialists. It began to lose its large following among the masses because, as George Clarke put it in last week's **Militant**, its policy was to strike "both at the right and the left, at reactionary elements and at rebellious miners and peasants seizing the land." This was what "brought down the 1943-1946 MNR regime and cost its leader Villarroel his head" in July 1946.

U.S. imperialism was not "disturbed" by the first MNR regime. Business Week notes (April 19): "In the last war the Paz group cooperated with the U.S., despite the pro-Nazi label" that was sometimes attached to it. But today Washington is uncertain about the MNR, because it has undergone certain changes since 1946 when Paz fled the country.

'Complicating Factors'

In the first place, its alliance with the military and police leaders was ended, with the latter going over to the post-Villarroel regimes. In order to maintain any base whatever, the MNR leaders had to talk more radical, present a more anti-imperialist program, promise social reforms. They did, and the masses, discontented with the government, returned to support of the MNR in greater numbers than previously. In fact, as the **Times** admits, it became the only mass party.

Last May an election was held. Less than 4% of the population voted; most are disfranchised on grounds of illiteracy. Paz got 43% of the votes, a definite plurality, although he was opposed by "the government, the army, mine owners and big business interests" (**Christian Science Monitor**, April 19) and his followers were ruthlessly persecuted by the authorities. "This is one of the complicating factors," the **Times** editors complain. Everyone concedes that Paz would have got an overwhelming majority if all the masses were allowed to vote.

Ten days later, before Parliament could vote on whether or not to seat Paz as president, a military-police Junta seized power, disbanded the Parliament and picked a general to be president. This junta "held the lid on any major changes in the nation's society or economy" (Monitor). That was just what the Truman administration wanted, and it quickly recognized the Bolivian military dictatorship, which the Times still insists was "a relatively decent and good (government) for Bolivia."

Another "complicating factor" was the price of tin. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which buys all the tin used in the U.S., began to put on the squeeze, forcing the price down from $1.90 a pound in February to $1.03 in July of last year. Bolivia does not have any smelter works of its own; because most of its ore is smelted in Texas, the RFC decided it could get what it pleased. The Bolivians lowered their demands from $1.50 to $1.30 but the RFC refused to raise its offer above $1.21½.

The deadlock, continuing for many months, produced unemployment, financial chaos and inflation, greatly aggravating anti-imperialist bitterness in Bolivia. The **Times** and other capitalist papers now reproach the RFC for helping in this way to provoke the revolution that overthrew the Junta last month (although they did not protest while the RFC was applying the squeeze).

Workers Join Fighting

Under pressure from Washington on one side and the masses on the other, and divided by personal and clique ambitions, the Junta split apart. Gen. Antonio Seleme, the Minister of the Interior, decided to take control himself. Opposed by the generals in charge of the army, he invited the MNR's collaboration. Thus the revolution began in the traditional form of a coup d'etat.

But in order to defeat the army, the MNR had to call on the masses and arm them to fight. Seleme, horrified at this turn, quickly deserted and fled. The leadership came completely into the hands of the MNR. The nominal leader was Hernan Siles Zuazo, vice presidential candidate. But it was Juan Lechin, the head of the militant miners union, who rallied the support of the labor movement after promising that a radical policy, including nationalization of the mines, would be followed by the new government.

Armed, the masses responded heroically, and defeated the army after three days of hard fighting. As reported by our Bolivian correspondent in last week's Militant, the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), section of the Fourth International, participated in the fighting and urged the masses to join it and raise their independent class demands. Siles publicly attributed the victory over the Junta to the militant role of the labor movement.

Membsrs of the new Bolivian cabinet are sworn into office by Herman Siles Zuazo, vice president in the MNR government.

From his exile in Argentina, Paz hastened to assure everyone: "Our party is one of the masses and yet it is completely anti-Communist. We not only have the tin workers in our ranks but the destitute peasants, the middle class and the university students — it is a national party." And to assure the imperialists especially, he added: "Our plans are not anti-capitalist. We have never said in our platforms that we desire to nationalize the mines."

But when Paz returned to Bolivia and was met by huge crowds on April 15, he sang another tune, promising "immediate steps to nationalize the tin mines." According to the press, "The announcement was greeted with a roar of approval." How explain this switch? An AP dispatch says: "Apparently the president had been carried away by miners' placards demanding nationalization which met him when he returned from his exile."

However, when he was installed in the presidency the next day, his inaugural speech was "mild." He promised "legitimate profits to capital" and made no reference to nationalization. This was interpreted as "hedging" and the mineowners were "elated." After this the **Times** editors decided that of all the MNR leaders, "Paz is the most likely to continue friendly relations with the United States."

But Paz, though he was eager to maintain good relations with capital, had the problem of labor to contend with. His retreat on the nationalization question evidently did not go down well with the workers. Every day that passed he had to issue a new statement. On April 18 he tried again to "clarify" his position: "We want to nationalize our mines, but not hurriedly and without confusion." He promised a "competent commission" would be set up to study the problem, adding that "if possible, we want to reach an agreement with the mineowners." Later he said the commission would need 6 months to finish its inquiry and preparation of plans.

Incident at 'La Razon'

What made Paz and the capitalist elements in his party switch back and forth like this? The answer came when the press reported the developments in connection with La Razon, a newspaper publised by the Aramayo mine interests which had supported the Junta and its repressions of the workers and had been shut down during the fighting.

On April 15 Siles announced: "I want to make it clear that **La Razon** is not appearing because of the decision of its publishers. The government has at no time forbidden its publication." On April 17 the government removed its padlock from **La Razon** and the editor announced it would reappear the next day.

He was wrong. "Shortly after midnight, while the editorial staff was putting the finishing touches to the first edition, three station wagons loaded with armed civilians drove past the plant several times shouting, **'La Razon** will die! The revolution will live!' and other threatening slogans. The editors then decided it would be prudent to postpone publication.

"Recalling how the revolutionary party's (MNR) newspapers were silenced under the overthrown military government, officials asserted they did not intend to act the same but there were more important problems which had priority for the government's attention."

One official "said the government will stand by its principles but it cannot now set its policy against 'people in arms.' He estimated that more than 10,000 rifles and machine guns still were in the hands of the Popular Militia, the main force of the revolt." (N. Y. Times, April 19.)

The next day, Paz had to make a statement too. He said **La Razon** could appear if it wanted to, but to do so would be like "waving a red banner before a revolutionary populace which has thus far shown great restraint" on its "feelings of revenge." He disclosed that "even before the revolution the tin miners had proposed that **La Razon** be blown up, but party leaders had restrained them. . . Believing as they do that **La Razon** was greatly responsible for their woes, the people could easily be stirred to an incident, which could mean more violence and deaths, should the newspaper reappear now, the President said. 'I suggest they wait awhile,' he added. He could not say how long." (N. Y. Times, April 20.)

The same report says: "The decision might be interpreted as meaning that the government did not have full control of the populace, which, the President said, still possesses more than 10,000 rifles and machine guns." It certainly might be interpreted that way.

Dual Power Situation

Another way of putting it would be: There are elements of dual power in Bolivia today. This is a scientific term used by Marxism to describe a situation that often occurs in genuinely popular revolutions, where a government of so-called "moderate" character is raised to power by revolutionary masses; an uneasy period follows, where neither the government nor the masses have full power; this must be followed eventually by the government subduing the masses, disarming them and bringing them under control, or by the masses altogether losing patience with the government, setting out to replace it with a new one pledged to carry out their radical demands.

The MNR government still enjoys the confidence of the Bolivian masses, from all evidence so far available in this country. Flushed with their victory over the army and hoping for the best and easiest outcome, as is usual during the first stages of a revolution, the masses are still willing to give the government time to show what it is made of. But even so, the La Razon incident shows that they are capable of acting on their own when the government fails to do what they want done.

The government's awareness of how tense the situation is is shown by the way Paz flip-flops back and forth, and by its efforts to placate the masses rather than move openly against them. The 10,000 arms in the hands of the masses is the big fact in Bolivian life today, and on Paz's mind.

On April 21 the command of the Popular Militia announced that no "immediate" attempts would be made to recover these weapons. The militiamen were told "to keep jealous guard" over these arms so that backers of the overthrown regime could not get them. They were told at the same time "to submit to discipline" and guard against the "enemies of the people."

Simultaneously, the government began to reorganize the army, staffing it with new commanders, and announcing that it would be reduced from 12,000 to 5,000, who will be used mainly as "a technical and engineering service" to assist in developing communications networks and soil conservation projects.

The army has always been the backbone of the reactionary forces in Bolivia. To cut its size to half that of the Popular Militia and then to put it to work at essentially civilian tasks would certainly be a measure designed to conciliate the masses. If carried through, this would indicate that the government has no hopes of crushing the masses for an extended period. It may be that Paz hopes to get around those dreaded "10,000 rifles and machine guns" on the one hand by offering concessions and on the other by housebreaking the militia through its transformation into an organ of the state, bound by severe discipline.

The militia is not the only problem facing the government, however. It also has a reviving labor movement to contend with.

The cabinet has two labor leaders: Juan Lechin of the miners, Minister of Mining and Petroleum, a newly created post; and German Butron of the textile workers, Minister of Labor. The policy they follow is quite openly different from that of Paz and Siles.

On April 20 they and other labor leaders set up a new Central Organization of Bolivian Workers to fight for nationalization of mines and railroads, agrarian reform and the repeal of all existing anti-labor legislation. The new group resolved "to maintain political independence nationally and internationally, while at the same time strengthening bonds with other Latin American workers."

In an interview printed in the April 25 **N. Y. Times**, Lechin said: "I want to see nationalization of the mines carried out swiftly. The Nationalization Commission will be named before the end of next week and I will be a member of it. The issuance of a report should not take longer than 30 days." Asked why such speed was necessary, he answered there was danger of sabotage by the big mine companies.

This differed so greatly from what Paz was saying that the Times reporter cautiously said "Lechin's statements gave strong support to the belief that the new government is divided over the (nationalization) issue."

Lechin declared that the labor movement is "independent of the government" and that his and Button's participation in the cabinet is "transitory." He "could not say whether the labor movement would have its own candidates in the elections that have been promised this year." But he definitely did not rule out the possibility — which must be one of the factors simultaneously pushing and pulling the Paz wing of the MNR.

The **Times** editors, with a sound class instinct, singled Lechin out as "the most dangerous" of the government leaders. The **New Leader** calls him a "fascist." Drew Pearson (April 27) claims he "went over to the Communists two years ago" and is now a "faithful agent of Moscow." (The rest of the press agrees with the April 23 statement of a Scripps-Howard writer that "Lechin has not been tagged as a Communist.")

Lechin's reputation since 1944 is primarily as a labor leader. He was head of the mine union in November 1946 when it adopted the Pulcayo Thesis, which said in part:

The Slander of 'Fascism'

"True democracy can only be brought about through the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once in power, the workers cannot allow themselves to be confined indefinitely within the limits of bourgeois democracy — they will find themselves obliged to make constantly increasing efforts to eliminate the system of private property so that the revolution may become permanent. . . The workers must take every possible step to equip themselves to run the mines effectively without the assistance of the owners, and for this purpose must acquaint themselves with all the technical and commercial 'secrets' of the owners."

By this time Lechin had broken all previous ties with the MNR and was collaborating with the POR. In the 1947 elections he disavowed the MNR when it tried to run him as its vice-presidential candidate, and led the mine union into an electoral united front with the POR, which resulted in his election as a Senator and the election of a number of POR members to the lower house of Parliament. In recent years, he renewed his connections with the MNR.

Great credit is due to Lechin for the role he played in mobilizing the workers for the overthrow of the pro-imperialist Junta. But his entry into the cabinet of a capitalist government is another thing, and can prove fatal, from the viewpoint of the interests of the revolutionary workers' movement, unless it is extremely "transitory."

But to call him a "fascist," as the **New Leader** does, is only to show how servilely the Social Democrats employ the weapon of slander in the interests of their imperialist masters. The main "basis" of this charge is the anti-imperialist policy of Lechin and to a lesser degree the other MNR leaders. The Social Democrats occasionally chide the Latin American military dictators who are puppets of U.S. imperialism for their "authoritarian tendencies" but they reserve the title of "fascist" (or "communist") for those governments and parties that refuse to bow to the dictates of Wall Street (which they equate to "injuring the U.S.").

Their slander of Lechin is reminiscent of the U.S. Stalinists' slanders of John L. Lewis as a "fascist" during World War II because Lewis followed an independent policy and refused to subordinate the miners union's interests to the needs of the U.S. government.

They Need Our Support

A second "basis" for the slander is the MNR's "similarity" to the Peron regime in Argentina. But that proves absolutely nothing for the simple reason that Peronism, despite the flood of propaganda to the contrary, is not fascist either. For a fuller discussion of Peronism, we can only recommend a reading of the resolution on Latin America adopted by the Third World Congress of the Fourth International printed in the Nov.-Dec. issue of **Fourth International.**

Here it must suffice to say that the Peron regime is a reactionary government of the industrial capitalists which got the support of the workers because in its own way it resists the pressure of U.S. imperialism and made certain concessions to labor. Peron conducts a witch hunt against his opponents on both the right and the left, but that does not make him a fascist any more than the Washington witch hunt makes Truman a fascist.

Lechin denies the Bolivian revolution had anything to do with Peronism, and there is absolutely no evidence that he is an agent of Peron. The Paz regime makes similar denials; on April 26 its police arrested a newspaper director who is "well known as a supporter of President Juan Peron." If the term is used in a broad general sense — to designate middle class and capitalist opposition to imperialism in semi-colonial countries — it might be said that politically they are "Peronists." That may make them reprehensible to the **Times** and **New Leader**, but it certainly does not make them fascists.

The revolution in Bolivia overthrew a military dictatorship subservient to imperialism, and that is a good thing for the people of Bolivia and the U.S. because it opens the possibility of social progress for the Bolivians and sets up an obstacle to the imperialist domination of Latin America and therefore to the imperialist preparations for a war to dominate the whole world.

This revolution was led by a middle class party, basically pro-capitalist in its outlook and therefore ready to compromise with imperialism under certain conditions, unable to carry through the social transformations needed by the Bolivian masses, and looking for a chance to curb them. This is a danger to the revolution, but it is held in check at least temporarily by the fact that the masses are independently organized, retain their arms and militancy and are in a position where, in the words of the Pulcayo Thesis, they still can make their revolution "permanent."

This revolution will meet with nothing but hostility in Washington. The State Department, which embraces fascist Franco and rushes to recognize the reactionary Batista regime in Cuba, lets it be known that recognition of Bolivia will depend on what the Paz government does. If Washington cannot buy off and corrupt Paz, perhaps through an offer of higher tin prices, it will try to crush the new regime economically. **Busness Week** lists some of the "economic levers" — a Point 4 health, farming and mining development program and an Export-Import Bank highway improvement project already under way in Bolivia — which it can threaten to stop for this purpose.

All these are reasons why the Bolivian revolution should be supported by every worker with an anti-capitalist or anti-imperialist bone in his body.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVI — MONDAY, MAY 5, 1952 — NUMBER 18

The Negro Struggle

Labor Solidarity

By Jean Blake

The origin of May Day as the international working class holiday associated with the traditions of labor solidarity should be of particular interest to Negro workers because it demonstrates how inseparably their fate is tied to that of the working class as a whole.

May Day originated in the struggle for a shorter working day. With the introduction of the factory system in one country after another throughout the world, the struggle against capitalist exploitation took the form of a struggle to limit the working day. In England, France and elsewhere, the early part of the nineteenth century saw the passage of a number of Factory Acts limiting the hours of labor.

The early history of the regulation of the working day and the struggle to enforce that regulation is told in considerable detail in Volume I of Capital, by Karl Marx, who concluded that this history proves "that the isolated worker . . . is hopelessly unable to offer any resistance to the encroachments of capital when capitalist production has reached a certain state of maturity. The establishment of a normal working day is, therefore, the outcome of a protracted civil war, more or less veiled, between the capitalist class and the working class."

This struggle began in England, the birthplace of modern industry, and followed, slowly, in France.

"In the United States," wrote Marx, "any sort of independent labor movement was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself were labor with a black skin is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new and vigorous life sprang. The first fruit of the Civil War was an agitation for the 8-hour day — a movement which ran with express speed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California.

"At the general convention of the National Labor Union held at Baltimore, it was declared on August 16, 1866: 'The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labor of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which 8 hours shall be the normal working day in all States of the American Union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained.'

"At the same time, the Geneva congress of the International Workingmen's Association, in conformity with a proposal made by the General Council resolved that 'a limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvement or emancipation must prove abortive. . . The congress proposes eight hours as the legal limit of the working day.'"

In 1884 the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, which later became the AFL, passed a resolution declaring that after May 1, 1886, "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor." That gave two years to prepare for the gigantic strike to win the demand.

On the first May Day, in 1886, about 350,000 workers went on strike. About 150,000 won the eight-hour day immediately. Others continued on strike in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Louisville, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Baltimore and many smaller cities and towns.

The American holiday became an international occasion when the first congress of the Second International voted to grant the request of the American Federation of Labor for support of their eight-hour fight, and to make May 1, 1890, the day of an international demonstration for the eight-hour day.

Looking back, we see that the necessary precondition for the development of an effective struggle against inhuman working conditions and for the eight-hour day was the abolition of slavery. Once that was achieved, workers' solidarity in America and then on a world scale, received new impetus for the struggle against the capitalists.

With the organization of the CIO in the 1930's, membership in the labor movement was finally opened to Negro workers in industry. The experience of the workers had driven home the lesson that it was not enough to end the competition between slave labor and wage labor, it was necessary to unite black and white wage labor, if the condition of all labor was to be defended and advanced.

Today the fight in the U.S. continues in the form of struggles for fair employment practices to eliminate all differentiation between the treatment of Negro and white workers, so that they cannot be pitted against each other.

Internationally, May Day 1952 found workers all over the world struggling to free themselves from imperialist exploitation, and from capitalist oppression. In Asia, in Africa, in Europe and in South America the workers are moving forward in new waves of militancy. But in the United States, where the official labor movement has not yet taken sides in solidarity with the international working class against Wall Street's drive to dominate the world, reaction has taken the offensive, with a steady attack on the standard of living, on workers' rights and civil rights, and with a new wave of violence against minorities.

A revival of workers' solidarity in militant united action and independence from capitalist politics is required to stem the tide.

Powder Keg at Jackson

By Patricia Stall

The powder keg of Jackson Prison exploded; the fuse was cell block 15. The explosion was expected by Michigan prison officials, the Jackson warden, the prisoners themselves. Jackson houses the largest number of convicts inside a single prison. It also houses a number of grievances that have resulted in a "mutiny" leading to $2,500,000 worth of damages to prison equipment, the death of one prisoner and the holding of eight guards as hostages for a dramatic and tense five-day period when the prisoners held control.

Time and again the Michigan Legislature delayed and refused financial aid to ease the overcrowding and inadequate facilities at Jackson. Psychotic prisoners who should be in mental hospitals are held together in one cell block without adequate medical care because there is no room for them in state hospitals. Guards are untrained, and encouraged to be brutal. Habitual criminals are crowded together with young first offenders and the seeds of crime have rich soil to grow into weeds. Prisoners are forced to stay inside for long periods without exercise in the fresh air. The powder keg was smoldering for a long time.

These were the conditions against which the prisoners in cell block 15 revolted — "not only for us in this hellhole, but for the other 6,500 guys in the prison, and all the guys in other prisons," said Earl Ward, leader of the rebellion. Ward was the man who presented the prisoners' demands, of which he said: "We've got to have a contract like they have on outside. If the governor (Williams) signs the contract, and Warden Frisbie signs it, then we'll sign it. That will settle it, just as things are settled on the outside."

The contract included 11 points, mainly relating to living conditions, medical care, brutality and discussion of grievances. The last point was: "No reprisals of any sort shall be initiated or perpetuated by personnel of the Michigan Department of Corrections." But after the contract was signed and the men surrendered, it became clear that the authorities intend to make reprisals anyhow against prisoners who committed "crimes" during the five-day struggle.

After the explosion, numerous explanations were offered, ranging from official apologies that inflation is to blame to lamentations that a "stronger hand" is needed in dealing with prisoners. What the apologists conveniently overlook are the social and economic causes of crime. It is not the fault of the convict alone that he is behind prison walls; in fact, often little or none of the fault is his. Furthermore, the authorities proceed on the assumption that every inmate is a "criminal enemy of society" and that their chief problem is how to restrain and terrorize the prisoners until they are released to resume their "criminal activities."

To make a change in these inhuman practices, it is necessary to start both at the "beginning" and the "middle." The "beginning" has to do with such things as slums, poverty, unemployment — the economic conditions that breed crime — and the general outlook and standards fostered by the values of capitalist society, where the acquisition of wealth (no matter how) is looked on as the highest good. Remove the prod of hunger and insecurity, as socialism will do by a rational rearrangement of the economic system, and you will remove the overwhelming majority of present day crime.

The "middle" concerns the rehabilitation of the men and women who have already been convicted and imprisoned. Present "rehabilitation" programs are largely a mockery, as the prisoners' complaints in both Michigan and New Jersey testified. The aim is to keep the prisoners busy, not really to help them acquire useful trades to support themselves after their release. Few criminals are "made over" in our penal institutions — far fewer than the number of young people who get their first real contact with and knowledge about crime behind bars.

The crimes committed against prisoners are more numerous and destructive than the crimes they are imprisoned for in the first place. The misuse and waste of human life in the prisons is one more example of the brutal and pernicious character of capitalist society.

Notes from the News

THE PRESIDENT of an AFL National Farmers Union local in Reform, Ala., Hayes McRae, a 66-year old Negro, was warned by white men that he "can't live here" as long as he engaged in union and NAACP activities. Leaving his job and family behind, McRae fled the town "in terror," the **Pittsburgh Courier** reports.

* * *

THE CAPITOL DOME in Washington is being painted by non-union painters. The AFL Painters Council says its members have done the job for the last 60 years, but the authorities accepted a bid this year from a non-union contractor. The Painters Council is barred from picketing on Capitol Hill.

* * *

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY comes up with this anti-labor alibi for refusing to recognize and bargain with striking cafeteria workers belonging to the CIO Transport Workers: If the cafeteria employees are recognized, it says, then the other workers would also seek recognition, and that would mean that the university would lose its "independence" in operating the institution.

* * *

GUATEMALAN WORKERS, under newly adopted amendments to the Guatemala labor code, now receive 75% sick pay up to six months; formerly they got 50% for three months.

* * *

THE CHINA DAILY NEWS, published in New York, and its officials have been indicted for allegedly inducing Chinese in the U.S. to send American dollars to China. Eugene Moy, president of the paper, denies the charge and says: "The indictment climaxes a relentless drive by the combined forces of the Kuomintang clique, the China lobby and certain forces in our government to destroy the **China Daily News,** the only Chinese-language newspaper in the United States which has consistently supported peaceful solution to outstanding problems in the Far East." . . . The American people must realize that there is involved in this case a most serious threat to the freedom of the press." Moy also charged for over a year "physical violence and other forms of terror" have been used against the paper's subscribers, advertisers and newsdealers.

* * *

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY of Canada, section of the Fourth International, has announced its dissolution. A statement by its National Committee said: "In the past seven years revolutionary socialists organized as an independent force in the RWP have done pioneer and yeoman service for the cause of Marxism in this country. In the unions, in the shops, wherever they were, the party's forces have played a vital role in giving clarity to the anti-war aspirations of the people, in fighting for a socialist policy against the treachery of Stalinism and the trap of reformist concilation with capitalism." It promised to "continue the struggle to which we are dedicated, not with less but with ever-increasing vigor through whatever forms it takes." The RWP ran a number of campaigns for Mayor of Toronto — once getting over 23,000 votes — and supported the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) as the political expression of the Canadian working class.

NYU Groups Unite in Fight On Smith Act

NEW YORK — A blow against the witch hunt and in behalf of the American tradition of free speech and democratic rights for all, was struck last week on the campus of New York University. Five organizations announced joint agreement on preliminary steps to be taken in mobilizing campus opinion in the fight against the Smith Act and "for the defense of all its victims."

As reported in the April 30 **Square Bulletin,** publication of the day students of Washington Square College at NYU, the five sponsors include the Young Democrats, Students for Democratic Action, the Spartacus Club, Alex Foster, Chairman of the NAACP and Bernard Braunhut, Chairman of the Social Work Club (Fall '52).

In a joint statement denouncing "the encroachment upon civil rights embodied in the Smith Act and in the prosecutions that are occurring under it," the five groups call for organization of a movement "to overcome the fear, apathy and silence that has held the campuses in a state of inaction on the critical issue of civil rights."

As a step toward this end, the five are calling upon all students and student clubs to join in. an early conference which "can set itself the tasks of distributing information on the facts and problems surrounding the Smith Act; of organizing pressure and protest for the repeal of the Smith Act and for the defense of its victims; and of increasing the forces for civil liberties here and at other universities."

CONCERN OF ALL

The five groups made clear that they are not Stalinist, but inasmuch as the Stalinists today are being victimized under the infamous Smith Act, the struggle for civil liberties requires the defense of all Smith Act victims no matter what you may think of their political beliefs. "It is not tenable to be against this infamous act and at the same time refuse to defend members of any political party indicted under it. This is not a Communist fight. This is the fight of all who want to preserve democratic rights."

"As students, we have an immediate interest in the fight against the Smith Act. Freedom of thought, untrammeled inquiry into all views, the unrestricted right to any idea, even the most unorthodox or heretical, is the lifeblood of a university. The right to be a dissenter must remain inviolate."

The five organizations took their action in response to a "call" issued by the Spartacus Club, a group interested in study of the ideas of socialism.

Michigan Prison 'Riot'

One of the hostages held by rebellious convicts at Jackson Prison in southern Michigan, a guard sits at window of cell block while prisoner holds knife at his throat for benefit of photographers. No guards were hurt, but one prisoner was killed and others wounded when prison guards fired at prisoners. This demonstration, like previous ones in New Jersey, succeeded in calling public attention to brutal conditions in the prisons.

Mich. Law Could Be Used on Democrats Too--CIO Leader

DETROIT — A day or two before the new Michigan police-state law (Trucks Act) was signed by Gov. Williams, state elections director Edward W. Frey gave the show away when he admitted that one of its aims is to see that "no organization inclined toward socialism is given a place on the ballot." When a prominent CIO official heard this, he cried, "My God, this could outlaw the Democratic Party!"

* * *

One man who described himself as a "philosophical revolutionary, like George Washington, but not a Communist," appeared before the state police and asked if he had to register under the new law. He was told he needn't. According to one press report, only two people in the whole state registered.

* * *

The law was sponsored in the Michigan House by Rep. Kenneth Trucks, Republican, member of the American Legion, and coowner of a drugstore in the village of Baldwin (pop., 835). The chief sponsor in the State Senate was James H. Teahen of Owosso, a former FBI investigator. Teahen led the successful fight against a proposal to expand coverage of the law to known members of the Ku Klux Klan and Black Legion.

* * *

It was a real bipartisan measure. The House passed it 88 to 0. The Senate passed it 29 to 0. Both houses are controlled by the Republicans. The bill then went to Democratic Gov. Williams on April 4. He announced that opponents would have an opportunity to voice opposition before he signed. However, Williams denied SWP chairman Howard Lerner's request for a hearing where the SWP could speak against the measure. After waiting 13 days, Williams signed the bill on April 7.

* * *

State officials did not even wait for the signing of the bill before they began taking steps to bar the SWP from the ballot. Secretary of State Alger's letter to Howard Lerner, sent April 17, explained that the SWP was barred because "a memo of April 10, 1952 from the Attorney General of Michigan has determined that the party is subversive under the meanings of the Act, and therefore should properly be refused to be placed upon the ballot."

MAX GELDMAN IS COMMENDED FOR WORK IN PHILADELPHIA

By Clyde Turner

PHILADELPHIA, April 18 — Members and friends of the Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Workers Party regretfully bade farewell tonight to Max Geldman, branch organizer since 1945 and one of the 18 SWP and CIO members convicted in Minneapolis in the first Smith Act case in 1941.

In his farewell talk here, Comrade Geldman showed through historical examples the necessity of the revolutionary socialist party as leader and organizer of the working people in their fight for a better world.

"Without a conscious leadership, armed with a program and methods that meet the needs of the masses, the inevitable struggle for freedom and the right to human dignity falls short of its goal and must be renewed again and again," he pointed out.

In the discussion period that followed his talk, comrades and friends paid tribute to Max Geldman's contributions in building the party in this area and pledged to do their share in continuing this work.

Angry Steel Workers Shut Mills

(Continued from page 1)

workers now that the method of "jollying them along" is beginning to wear thin.

The corporations, for their part, are pleading for a chance to take on the steelworkers in a direct battle. Here too, disorganization and muddleheaded bungling reign supreme. The steel barons tell the government "Let the strike go on," but if they have their way, all they can earn for themselves is a good licking. Very few sections of the capitalist class agree with Henry Hazlitt, columnist for the magazine **Newsweek,** who ranted on April 21: "Either we make it legally possible once more for a strike to be broken, or we yield completely to constantly mounting union demands."

TWO DIFFERENT THINGS

The capitalists realize that the "legal possibility" of breaking a strike and actually breaking it are two different things, and that the steelworkers, with their present organization and spirit, cannot be broken. That is, in effect ,what Truman and the section of the capitalist class close to him, is trying to tell them, and that is why Truman says: Don't let them strike; continue the fake government seizure.

Meanwhile, as the capitalist class continues to wrestle with the problem of the power of the industrial unions which has baffled it for almost two decades, the workers are showing their strength and determination. The prevailing sentiment seems to be: Now that we're out, stay out!

In Pittsburgh, a local union president told reporters, "This is definitely a showdown. We're ready to stay out until we win this thing." Pickets in the Pittsburgh district said "So what" when told that the government was back in "control" of the mills by virtue of a new court move. "It's too late. We're already on strike," said one, and "What's the use of going back to work for a couple of days?" said another. Joseph P. Molony, Buffalo United Steelworkers district director told the Associated Press:

"It is unlikely that the men will return to work until they find out just whom they are working for and who is going to give them a raise in wages. On Mondays the Government runs the steel mills. On Tuesdays the steel companies take their turn. Here it is Wednesday, and look who's back in."

MOOD OF RANKS

This healthy determination to have it out is certainly the mood of the ranks, but whether or not it is shared in the top leadership of the union remains to be seen. Murray has refused to commit himself as to whether the workers will carry their strike to victory regardless of the dizzy shuttlecock of court decisions.

The **United Mine Workers Journal** commented on April 15, two weeks before the strike, "Status of the dispute placed the steelworkers at a disadvantage, dependent on further government action, since the seizure had the effect of checking their strike strategy, thus taking any immediate pressure off the steel companies, whose output and profits continue."

The miners speak from bitter experience with government boards, "seizures" and injunctions, in wartime, peacetime, and in between times. They learned, in their 1946 strikes, that government seizure gave them nothing but a runaround, until they came to the decision that, if the government wants to pretend to be their employer, they would treat it just like any other employer and strike for their demands. That was the way they fought to victory.

THE BIG LESSON

The big lesson of the present government steel "seizure" has not been lost upon the steel workers. Truman's April 8 action made a hero out of him for a few days, but then as the days and weeks passed and the "seizure" appeared to be accomplishing nothing other than depriving them of their weapon and bargaining power, impatience grew. Truman and his deputy in charge of the mills, Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, stalled on the wage increase while handing out repeated rumors that the WSB award was to be put into effect "tomorrow," or "next week." Finally, after two-and-a-half weeks had gone by with no action, the government began to hand out the story that it would take no action until the courts decided the legality of the "seizure."

The workers ask themselves: What happens now if we go back to work? The legality of the "seizure" will still hang upon the decision of the Supreme Court. It is very unlikely that the government won't avail itself of this very good excuse for continuing to stall the wage increase. That is why their sentiment is to stay out and win.

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Support Grows In Chicago Fight Against Law 1030

By Marjorie Ball

An editorial statement in the **Maroon,** official University of Chicago student newspaper, condemns Law 1030 as "unconstitutional and . . a dangerous attempt to abrogate the democratic electoral process." (Law 1030, passed last July by the Illinois legislature, makes it a criminal offense to solicit signatures for a statewide election outside your county of residence."

"Students interested," the Maroon editorial continues, "should join the Campus Committee Against Law 1030 and fight this new encroachment on the American democratic tradition." The Torch, Roosevelt College student paper, had previously called the law "an unwarranted and cynical restriction upon free political activity."

At the University of Chicago, the Campus Committee Against Law 1030 collected $7.30 and 180 signatures of students who condemned the fascist-like character of this law. Both Campus Committees are collaborating with the Citizens Committee Against Law 1030 to organize and publicize the May Frolic. This dance, scheduled for May 9 at the PAC-UAW Hall, 708 East 47th Street, will raise funds to help the court case of the Socialist Workers Party. Over 150 tickets have been sold so far.

The Socialist Workers Party has challenged the constitutionality of Law 1030 in a suit against Governor Adlai Stevenson, other law enforcing officials, and leading county attorneys and sheriffs.

The SWP will appear before a federal three-judge court May 6 and charge that this law violates the 14th Amendment and the Federal Civil Rights Act.

UAW Amalgamated Local #788 and the AFL Railroad Car Men's Union, Newhope Lodge, have joined the fight against Law 1030. Other locals have heard Citizens Committee speakers and are considering support of the fight. Even though the official decision is postponed, many union members have been so moved by news of this shocking attack on democratic rights that they have offered their help to the Citizens Committee on the spot.

N.Y. Slum Project Will Not Provide Homes for Ousted

NEW YORK — New York City is the landlord in many slum areas in the city which will be torn down sometime in the near or distant future to make way for housing projects.

A recent survey of one such area, the Carver site, between Park and Madison Avenue (from 99th to 106th Street) has again shown the two-faced character of the capitalist politicians running "the greatest city in the world."

Close to 3,000 families live in this over-crowded area. In the new project, to be built on the Carver site by the N. Y. City Housing Authority, there will be only 1200 apartments. This is the city's answer to the housing shortage.

MOST WILL STAY

Most of the people living on the Carver site will stay in the old slum buildings for many years. Less than 900 of the 3,000 families are scheduled for relocation from one-third of the area by May 1953.

With the city as landlord, you might think that the old buildings would be properly maintained for as long as people had to live in them. You might suppose that the city would enforce its own laws for keeping buildings in safe and sanitary condition.

A visit to the Carver site or most of the other condemned areas will quickly dispel any illusions about the sincerity of capitalist politicians when they talk about improving living conditions for the slum dwellers.

You will find uncollected garbage in hallways and yards. You will see many dark unlit halls, broken doors, starways and windows.

In the apartments, paint and plaster are peeling and falling in many rooms. Complaints and requests to the Housing Authority for service go unanswered.

One woman with small children complained in vain for a month about a dead rat in the wall.

LITTLE PROTECTION

There are plenty of cops and detectives around to raid crap games and terrorize Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority groups who live in the area, but there is very little protection given by the city to the tenants on the site when it comes to maintaining their houses in safe and sanitary condition.

The fear of losing their home — such as it is — always hangs over the heads of the tenants. The new houses offered them by the Housing Authority are either worse or the rents are much higher than what they can afford.

This is how the capitalist politicians are solving the housing problems of the people who live in New York's slums.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on

Stalins's Offer On Germany

Speaker:

JAMES DALL

Friday, May 9, at 8:30

at 423 Springfield Avenue